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Thou rest from cares, thou balm for misery.
I call thee, guide and mate, and Gothland's gone;
Thou givest me abode on Helicon".
With Ovid, as with Milton, the mind is its own place.

The third point that Professor Rand makes is Ovid's fondness for the metamorphosis (226-231).

. . . I mean not merely the metamorphosis of legend, but the idea itself; Ovid delights in his own power mythologically to transform as well as mythologically to create. Nothing pleases him so much as suddenly to shift his point of view, and after declaring his allegiance to one aspect of a situation, immediately to present the exact reverse with an equally convincing sobriety. We have seen his first declaration of love, in which he pledges loyalty to a single mistress. Following farther the series of his imaginary experiences, we turn with something of a shock to his poem which describes his embarrassment at having two sweethearts at the same time. He consoles himself with the reflection:

"Better to have double love, than never love at all". And what shall we say of that humiliating confession of his, in which he explains with exuberant detail just why he has to love every maiden that he sees? Similarly, in one poem, the lover gives elaborate instruction to his mistress how to deceive her husband at a banquet to which all three are invited; in another, he describes his bitter pangs at finding that she has applied the lesson to deceiving her lover instead. Now the identical material of the latter poem we have in an elegy of Tibullus, and a comparison is instructive. Tibullus's woe is genuine, relieved only by one of his rare flashes of unintentional humor; as an instance of his sufferings for his mistress, he recalls the time when he was chased all night by her dog. Ovid takes as much relish in describing how his mistress deceives him as in formulating a code of deception for her use in his favor. The details are exactly the same as in his previous poem; he likes to manipulate and readjust them.

Professor Rand believes that the Amores (229)

. . . is also a triumph of the metamorphosis, satirical metamorphosis, at the expense of the lover and the poet. Books I and II of the *Art of Love* form a learned manual for the lover, whereby he can overcome the wiles of his enemy—*fallite follentes*. This much formed a little work by itself, circulated about for a short time, and then Ovid, undergoing a metamorphosis, came out with Book III, a manual for mistresses, with exactly the same purpose as the first instalment—*fallite follentes*. To these distressing text-books he finally, in response to his critics, added the *Remedies* as an ironical *apologia*, turning the tables on both the preceding works. This palinode is likewise a satire on his critics. Instead of humbly repenting, as they desired, and instead of pointing out what a ludicrous figure he has made of the lover, he falls back on the argument from authority and the appropriateness of his material to his theme. He left it for those who could detect his satire to find, as Dryden found in the fourth book of Lucretius, that ridicule is a most potent remedy of love. But the Puritans of Ovid's day drew one false conclusion from his works, and the entourage of Julia drew another.

(To be continued)

c. k.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

(Concluded from page 24)

11. Rhetorical Element

The great historical events mentioned in Ammianus's history are few; the details, especially of Julian's

Persian campaign, are the usual ones of fireswept lands (18.6.9, 18.7.3), of indiscriminate butchery (19.8.4), and of mourning for the dead (19.1.10-11), solitis fletibus conclamabant, ut lacrimare cultrices Veneris saepe spectantur in sollemnibus Adonidis sacris. The subsidiary elements are more prominent than the historical. In no other Latin historian are the discursive, the illustrative, and the decorative portions so noticeable. Caesar narrates; Ammianus paints. Let one illustration suffice. Caesar's battle with the Nervii (B.G.2.18 ff.) is comparable to Julian's with the Alamanni (16.12 ff.) in number of men and results. In the latter (16.12.63) 6,000 of the dead enemy were counted on the field of battle, and inaeestimabiles mortuorum acervi per undas fluminis ferebantur. The things that Caesar had to do are set forth as with short sword-thrusts; Ammianus moves slowly. The enemy raised the *barritum*, qui clamor. . . a tenui susurro exoriens paulatimque adulescens ritu extollitur fluctuum cautibus inlisorum (§43). Their violence and anger in modum exarsere flammarum (44). Pares enim quodam modo coivere cum paribus (47). A way was made to the middle of the Roman line, where stood, densior et ordinibus frequens, miles instar turrium fixa firmitate (49). The rout was equally picturesque, for, egredi festinabant ut e mediis saevientis pelagi fluctibus quocumque avexerit ventus eici nautici properant et vectores (51). The pitting of a word against itself, e. g. pes cum pede conlatus est (31.7.12), strages stragibus (19.2.10) goes back to Ennius (compare Bellum Hispanum 31.7). Ammianus, in contrast with Caesar, uses such purple patches; compare arma armis corporaque corporibus obtrudebat (16.12.43); and dexteræ dexteris miscebantur et umbo trudebat umbonem (16.12.37).

The battle of Adrianople was another Cannae (31.13.19). According to Livy the first movement in the latter was *lucē prima* (22.46.1), in the former *exoriente vero aurora diei* (31.12.10). Several of the details are the same in both fights, but it is Ammianus who uses figurative language. The battle glows *flammarum ritu* (31.13.1), and, (§2), *deinde conlatae in modum rostratarum navium acies trudentesque se vicissim, undarum specie motibus sunt reciprocis iactitatae*. The barbarians swept on (31.13.6), et, quocumque se inflexerant oculi, acervis caesorum adgestis, exanimata cadavera sine parsimonia calcabantur.

Here and there in the account of the siege and capture of Amida (19.1-8) is a word or a phrase used by Tacitus (Hist. 3.26-33) in describing the capture of Cremona. Both accounts begin with *cingere corona* and end with *truncabantur*. Yet certain elements in the situation gave to Ammianus an opportunity for display that was denied to Tacitus. The struggle was like that at Troy (19.1.9), and the midnight sortie of the Gauls, *ut dentatae in caveis bestiae*, rivals the attack on Rhesus (19.6.11). However, in the earlier stages the Gauls had been useless (19.5.2), *tantum proficientes quantum in publico, ut aiunt, incendio aqua unius hominis manu adgesta*. They had been merely on-lookers of the first part of the fight when the weapons

were flying *ritu grandinis*, and of the great assault when *inaestimabiles copiae in modum alitum ferebantur*. The defenders were so packed that no weapon fell in vain (19.7.4). Once (19.6.1) *adspiravit <eis> auram* quendam salutis fortuna, but their usual feeling was that of despair, for Sabinianus brought no help (19.3.3): . . . *nihil proficiens visebatur ut leo, magnitudine corporis et torvitate terribilis, inclusos intra retia catulos periculo ereptum ire non audens, unguibus ademptis et dentibus*.

With these verbal illuminations go touches of coloring in the description of the Persians, and mention of varying shades of light: *Cum primum aurora fulgeret* (19.1.2); *caligine tenebrarum* (19.1.9); *ne vespertinae quidem hebetaverunt tenebrae* (19.2.10); *albescente iam die* (19.7.3); *ingruente iam vespera* (19.7.5); *nitescente iam luce* (19.8.1); *vespera tenebrante* (19.8.5).

All these passages differ from their models in rhetorical coloring, an element which Ammianus recognized in his portrayal of Julian (16.1.2-3):

. . . *singula, serie progrediente, monstrabo, instrumenta omnia mediocris ingenii, si suffecerint, commoturus. Quicquid autem narrabitur, quod non falsitas arguta concinnat, sed fides integra rerum absolvit documentis eviditibus fulta, ad laudativam paene materiam pertinebit*.

The essence of this might be extended to a characterization of his own work, for, as a whole, it is, *ut ita dixerim*, an advocative history.

12. Conclusion

The convolutions in the style of Ammianus make his work practically a sealed book for Schools. One constantly recurring feature is plain, the separation of two terms joined by *et* by another part of speech. This can be expressed by the formula, *a b et a*, e. g. *per plana camporum et mollia* (14.2.5). Form, not uninteresting substance, is the barrier. This is true, though a passage may have a modern flavor, e. g. (19.2.11):

Agitatis itaque sub onere armorum vigiliis, resultabant altrinsecus exortis clamoribus colles, nostris virtutes Constanti Caesaris extollentibus ut domini rerum et mundi, Persis Saporem saansaan appellantis et pirosen, quod rex regibus imperans et bellorum victor interpretatur.

It is a shorter cut to read in the dictionary about the *barritum*, and the *buccelatum*, though Ammianus's explanation of *marha marha* (19.11.10), and of *σιωίπα*, quam vulgaris simplicitas susurnam appellat (16.5.5), may invite a reading. The statement of a manual may suffice, without an actual test, to show his use of a *quod*-clause instead of subject-accusative with infinitive, of the future participle expressing purpose, of *quasi*, *tamquam*, and *velut*, and of the pluperfect indicative in the apodosis of an unreal condition, e. g. in 23.3.3. . . *ni multiplex iuvisset auxilium, etiam Cumana carmina consumperat magnitudo flammaram*.

Ammianus's history, as a portrayal of the practical consummation of all things Roman, is valuable for comparative purposes in showing the changes since early days. Whoever is interested in early Roman

discipline will also have an interest in the manifestations of the belief in *medio est imperium positum occupanti*; whoever admires the unnamed eagle-bearer who declared in Caesar, B.G. 4.25.3, *Ego certe meum rei publicae atque imperatori officium praestitero*, will have an equal and opposite admiration for the unnamed standard-bearer, who, on the death of Julian, deserted to the Persians and revealed conditions in the Roman army; whoever traces the rise of Roman oratory in Cicero's *Brutus* and *De Oratore*, and its decline in the *Dialogus De Oratoribus* can read of its extinction at Antioch (30.4); whoever reads the prophecy of Horace, *Carm.* 3.6.46 ff.,

aetas parentum, peior avis, tulit
nos nequiores, mox daturos
progeniem vitiosiore,

or the biting gibe of Juvenal (1.147 ff.),

nil erit ulterius, quod nostris moribus addat
posteritas; eadem facient cupientque minores;
omne in praecipiti vitium stetit,

will find a similar feeling expressed in 28.4.5:

Quae probra aliaque. . . ita effrenatus exarserunt, ut nec Epimenides ille Cretensis, si fabularum ritu ab inferis excitatus redisset ad nostra, solus purgare sufficeret Romam; tanta plerosque labes insanabilium flagitiorum oppressit;

whoever has traced with Tacitus the differentiation of German institutions will welcome the contrast in the primeval unity of the Huns (31.2.11):

. . . *inconsultorum animalium ritu, quid honestum inhonestumve sit penitus ignorantes, flexiloqui et obscuri, nullius religionis vel superstitionis reverentia aliquando districti, auri cupidine immensa flagrantes*.

And, so far as Ammianus himself is concerned, whoever, after considering the evidences of his thoroughgoing paganism in connection with Julian, will weigh with care all his expressions concerning Christianity may ask whether a change had not taken place in his religious views between the years 364 and 390 A.D.

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THE IDEAL ELEMENT IN THE POLITICS OF CICERO

In a brilliant lecture on Greek Politics, given, in November, 1921, at Columbia University, Dr. Alfred Zimmern, of Oxford, dwelt on the Greek conception of politics as a branch of morals. The Greeks were the first to hold that, as government exists not for the benefit of the ruler, but for the good of the whole people, it is the business, the pressing, unescapable moral obligation of every citizen to interest himself in politics and, according to his ability, to serve the State.

If the Greeks made political activity a duty, Cicero made it the supreme duty. He linked politics to religion and based his theory of the State on a spiritual view of the universe—that is, a belief in God, the Creator and Ruler, in men as the sons of God, and in justice as the common law of God and man. To this theory of the State Cicero was, I believe, never unfaithful.